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Esther → Kira (Kiera, Kyra). He continued to amass books and manuscripts, but unfortunately, most of his collection was destroyed in the great fire of Istanbul in 1569. Akrish then moved to Kastoria (in Greece), where he lived in poverty for the rest of his life.

Akrish published three major works between 1575 and 1578. The most famous is probably *Qol Mevasser* (The Voice of the Herald), which includes letters regarding the location of the Ten Lost Tribes. In his introduction, Akrish vouches for the authenticity of the letters by describing the credentials of his sources, thereby revealing his keen critical sense. The most famous part of this work is Ḥasday ibn Shaprūt's letter to Joseph, king of the → Khazars, and the latter's response. Akrish's purpose in publishing this collection was, in his own words, to strengthen the Jews' faith that they have "a kingdom and dominion." Another work of his, entitled *Iggeret Ogeret* (The Epistle of Gathering), is a collection of polemical writings. Akrish's goal in this work was to inform Jews how to "refute heretics who worship sculptures and all [types of] image[s]." Akrish's third major work, *Shelosha Perushim*, as its name indicates, consists of three commentaries on Song of Songs.

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JOSEPH RINGEL

'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi, Tārīkh-i

Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi by Iskandar Beg Munshī (d. ca. 1632) is the most important work of Iranian historiography on the Ṣafavid era (1501–1722). While the introduction briefly discusses the reigns of Shahs Ismā'īl I (1501–1524), Ṭahmāsp (1524–1576), Ismā'īl II (1576–1578), and Muḥammad Khudābanda

(1578–1587), it is mainly devoted to a detailed and spirited description of the reign of Shah → 'Abbās I ("the Great"; 1571–1629). As a royal secretary, Iskandar Beg Munshī observed many of the events he described and sought to acquire reliable information. His work recounts the most important events of Shah 'Abbās's reign and is also a compendium of the administrative and cultural practices of the court and the Iranian realm.

From the perspective of Iranian Jewish history, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsi* is a significant, albeit indirect, source. Although it does not record information specifically about Iranian Jewry, it is a gauge for verifying the account of the persecution of Iranian Jews between 1617 and 1662 given in the → Judeo-Persian chronicle → *Kitāb-i Anusī* (The Book of a forced Convert) by → Bābāi ibn Luṭf. Iskandar Beg Munshī confirms what Bābāi ibn Luṭf reports about Shah Abbās's campaigns in Georgia, his relationship with → Zaynab Begum, and the circumstances of his death. This in turn enhances the reliability of what Bābāi ibn Luṭf reports about Jewish communal and national Jewish events and provides a popular, not court-related view of seventeenth-century Iran.

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VERA B. MOREEN

Al-Andalus 050647
 aut. Norman A. Stillman

Al-Andalus was the Arabic name throughout the Middle Ages for the Iberian Peninsula, including what is today both Spain and Portugal, although with the progress of the Recon-

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BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Islam under the Crusaders is number two in a continuing series of related but independent works on crusader Valencia. The following have appeared or are ready for press:

The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

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09 Nisan 2017

A History of Jewish-Muslim relations: from the origins to the present day, edit. Abdelwahab Meddeb, Benjamin Stora, trans. Jane Marie Todd, Michael B. Smith, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2013. İSAM DN. 249160.

In the wake of the truce with King Richard, Saladin returned to Damascus, where he passed away, leaving the sultanate to his Ayyubid heirs. They governed the Holy City for several decades. During these years they contributed modestly to attiring Jerusalem with an Islamic robe. Some Jews reinhabited the city.

The Hebrew poet Judah Alharizi, in his *maqāma* (Tahkemoni 16:39), mentions that he saw three Jewish communities in Jerusalem (A.D. 1216): al-Ifranji (literally "Franks," from Latin Europe), Maghribians (from North Africa/Spain), and al-Shamiyun (from Syria-Palestine). It might be that this last congregation settled in the city during the years between the victory at Hattin and the advance of King Richard. The realm of the Ayyubids stretched

from southern Turkey (Ashur/Assyria) to Yemen, and presumably Jews from these lands moved to Jerusalem, too. Several letters from the Geniza tell stories of these worshippers.

The economic destitution, the arrangements concluded between the Ayyubids and the Franks, and the advance of the Mongols reduced the size of the Jewish population of Jerusalem in the last decades of the Ayyubids almost to nothing. •

Professor at Haifa University, Yehoshua Frenkel teaches social and political history of the Arab world during the Middle Ages. His recent publications include "The Turks of the Eurasian Steppes in Arabic Geographical Literature," in Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World, edited by Reuven Amital and Michal Biran (Brill, 2005).

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The Jews of al-Andalus Mercedes García-Arenal

The Jewish communities of al-Andalus—the part of the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule—were particularly illustrious between the reign of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova 'Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) and the Almohad takeover after 1140. No other medieval Jewish community had so many high-ranking personalities in the political and economic spheres; no other produced a literary culture of such breadth, revealing an intellectual life shared with the Muslims. That blossoming was all the more unexpected in that the Jews of Hispania had lived in great social and legal insecurity during the time of the Visigoths, when they were persecuted and compelled by decree to convert. Part of the Jewish population of al-Andalus, no doubt stemming from the migratory waves of the Islamic conquests, embraced the invaders' culture and language from the start.¹

The unification of the territories and the adoption of the Arabic language constituted a fundamental change,² since, among other things, these measures facilitated the establishment of fluid relations among the various Jewish communities. In that Arabization, what was specific to the Jews' literary culture was the extraordinary cultural vitality of the elites, combined with their material prosperity, their participation in public affairs and in the administration of the courts of al-Andalus, their responsibilities within their communities, and their importance in Jewish history. That importance is, in fact, paradoxical, given the small number of their representatives.³

An Andalusian golden age? A historiographical view

Al-Andalus does not constitute a unique example of cultural interaction between Jews and Muslims. Far from it. Various aspects of that phenomenon can also be found in other Islamic regions. Individual Jews, especially in Egypt and Iraq, had enjoyed power and wealth before the tenth century, and entire dynasties had transmitted the viziership from father to son in medieval Morocco and later, well after the eclipse of al-Andalus. In Iraq and Morocco as well, the particular character-

Mercedes García-Arenal

A university lecturer and researcher at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Madrid, the author studies Islamic minorities and Jews in the Islamic world, as well as the conversion process and messianism. She is the editor of *Conversions islamiques: Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen* (Maisonneuve et Larose, 2001).

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LONDON AND NEW YORK

2011

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SPANISH-ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Ira M. Lapidus

Source: *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 309–19.

Muslim Spain from the Arab conquest to the liquidation of the last Muslim possessions in Granada in 1492 represents yet another variant of the Caliphal type of early Islamic civilization. This civilization was built upon the assimilation of the Spanish and Berber populations to Arabic and Islamic culture, and was fostered by extraordinary economic prosperity. Muslim Spain bears an aura of glory. The great mosque of Cordova, the gardens, fountains, and courtyards of the Alhambra, the *muwashshahat* and *zajal* poetry with their Arabic verses and romance language refrains, the irrigated gardens of Seville and Valencia, the wisdom of philosophy and science – these are the monuments of Spanish Islam. Spain was the focal point for the transmission of Greek philosophy from the Arab world to Europe. No less important was the drama of the defeat of this brilliant Muslim civilization by its European enemies, the expulsion of the Arabs, and the reabsorption of Spain into Christian Europe.

For all its brilliance Muslim Spain was a province of the Arab Caliphate. Already overrun by successive waves of Alaric and Vandal invasions from the north, Spain was conquered by Arab and Berber forces from North Africa led by Tariq, who defeated the Visigothic King Roderic at the River Barbate in 711. The Arab advance into France was checked finally by Charles Martel at the battle of Poitiers in 732. Whereas in the East, Arab conquerors were generally forced to settle in garrison towns and villages, leaving the land in the direct control of its pre-conquest landlord elite and a tax-collecting bureaucracy, in Spain large territories were parceled out among Arab and Berber clans. This immediately led to factional quarrels. In the very first decades of Muslim rule, Berbers, allocated poor mountain lands in Galicia and Cantabria, rebelled against Arab governors. The rebellions were put down by Syrian Arabs and the new forces were in turn given fiefs. The Arabs themselves were divided into tribal factions called Qays and Yemen, representing the first-generation settlers and later immigrants.

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03 Ağustos 2017

Fatimiler
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AL-QANTARA
XXXVII 2, julio-diciembre 2016
pp. 199-232
ISSN 0211-3589
doi: 10.3989/alqantara.2016.007

Fatimies y taifas: la moneda de oro fatimí en al-Andalus*

Fatimids and the Taifa States: the Fatimid Gold Coinage in al-Andalus

Carolina Doménech-Belda
Universidad de Alicante

Este trabajo tiene por objeto analizar la presencia de la moneda de oro fatimí en al-Andalus y su vinculación con el numerario de los Estados taifas. Se realiza una puesta al día de los datos conocidos a partir de los hallazgos, tanto de conjuntos monetales como de piezas aisladas. Este análisis permite obtener una visión de conjunto del numerario de oro fatimí hallado en territorio andalusí, cuantificar y delimitar el alcance de dicha presencia, determinar su especial interacción con algunas taifas como Valencia, Toledo o Zaragoza, cuyas monedas aparecen atesoradas junto a las fatimies de forma constante, y precisar el momento histórico en el que se enmarca la llegada y el atesoramiento de este numerario. Se observa que gran parte de estas monedas proceden de Sicilia donde fueron acuñadas en un momento en el que los fatimies ya no tenían el control directo de la isla, y donde predominaron las rubā'as o cuartos de dinar. Las rubā'as son mayoritarias en los hallazgos andalusies, frente a los dinares unidad que son escasos a pesar de ser la especie monetaria más usada

This paper analyzes the presence of the Fatimid gold coins in al-Andalus and its link with the coinage of the taifa states, through a review of the hoards, from treasures to isolated pieces. This analysis allows to get a full view of the Fatimid gold coinage found in al-Andalus. Also allows to quantify and to establish the extent of the presence of this coinage. The Fatimid gold coinage is frequently treasured next to some taifa issues such as Valencia, Toledo or Zaragoza taifas. This study makes possible to point the historical moment when these coins were hoard. Most of them are from Sicily where they were minted in a moment when the Fatimids had no longer direct control of the island, and where the rubā'as or quarter dinar predominated. In the Andalusian hoards, most of these coins were fractions of quarter dinar, in spite of the unit dinar that was the gold currency most used in Fatimid Empire. These fractional dinars should have been very valued during the 11th century in al-Andalus because of the quality of his alloy. The rubā'as coexisted with the

* Este trabajo ha sido realizado en el marco del proyecto de investigación HAR2015-67111-P *El sitio de las cosas: relación entre la cultura material y los espacios construidos a la luz de la arqueología (ss. VI-XIV)* del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.

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MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN
SUNRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

24 Temmuz 2017

Sefaati (181671)
En d'Alas (050847)

24 Temmuz 2017

Omayra Herrero*

03 Ağustos 2017

L'intercession (shafā'a) sous les Omeyyades d'al-Andalus à travers quelques récits historiques

Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée, n. 140, 2016 Aix-en-Provence.

0368



MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN
SAYFA ÇELEN DOKÜMAN

Résumé: Sur la base d'exemples tirés des chroniques et des dictionnaires biographiques, cet article tente de déterminer les conditions favorables à une intercession auprès du pouvoir politique en al-Andalus sous les Omeyyades. Défendue par des hadiths prophétiques et des versets coraniques, l'intercession fait malgré tout l'objet de restrictions dans la tradition islamique. En analysant certaines situations de conciliation (personnages concernés, réseaux de loyauté), nous pouvons identifier les individus les plus susceptibles d'influencer les décisions du souverain dans l'application de son pouvoir coercitif. L'intervention de membres des cercles du pouvoir, détenteurs du *jāh* (« rang »), était généralement réussie. Il apparaît enfin que des intercessions eurent parfois lieu dans des contextes où elle était explicitement interdite par les textes, comme en cas de crime contre la religion.

Mots clés: Intercession, *shafā'a*, rang, *jāh*, médiation, réseaux de loyauté, privilèges, Omeyyades, al-Andalus

Abstract: *Intercession (shafā'a) under the al-Andalus Umayyads: an historical perspective.* Based on examples selected from historical chronicles and biographical dictionaries, this article attempts to identify the most propitious conditions for political intercession under the Umayyads of al-Andalus. Required in several prophetic traditions as well as in Qur'anic verses, intercession was also restricted by the Islamic tradition. Analyzing situations of conciliation (people concerned, loyalty networks), we can identify those who were most able to influence a sovereign's decisions for application of his coercive power. Intercession by a

165-180

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Endürlüs
050847

03 Ağustos 2017

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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JOURNAL OF THE ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE ORIENT 60 (2017) 233-262



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The Use of Charity as a Means of Political Legitimation in Umayyad al-Andalus

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D 787



Abstract

The principal aim of this study is to examine the use of charity as a factor of political legitimation by the ruling elite of al-Andalus in the Umayyad period. Accordingly, it explores the degree to which charity was an instrument in the hands of the authorities, and the manner in which this strategy was decisive in the process of consolidating power. In a broader sense, this analysis enables us to deepen our knowledge of the political elite in al-Andalus and to elucidate how charitable attitudes reflected a particular conception of power.

Keywords

Legitimation – politics – charity – social history – al-Andalus – Umayyad period

Introduction

The issue of political legitimacy in Islam has generated a wealth of bibliography. One of the aspects that have received the most attention is the way in which caliphal legitimacy was articulated in the pre-modern Islamic world. Regarding al-Andalus, our knowledge about the Umayyad caliphs of Cordoba

* Research for this paper has been carried out within the project "Documents from Nasrid and Mudejar Granada: a study of the collections (law, economy and society)" (FFL2012-37775), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. I am grateful to Anne Marie Wolf for her assistance in preparing the English translation of this article.

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VOLUME 15



IN PRAISE OF SONG

*The Making of Courtly Culture
in al-Andalus and Provence, 1005-1134 A.D.*

BY

CYNTHIA ROBINSON

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA CELEN DOKÜMAN

03 Ağustos 2017



Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	253972
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Jonathan H. Shannon

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THERE AND BACK AGAIN: RHETORICS OF AL-ANDALUS IN MODERN SYRIAN POPULAR CULTURE

Abstract

This article explores the rhetorical function of al-Andalus (medieval Spain) in modern Syrian popular culture, with a focus on music. The rhetoric of al-Andalus in Syria is intimately related to the project of nation building. The nostalgic performance of links between modern Syria and medieval al-Andalus assumed great rhetorical force in the 1960s as a result of ideologies of pan-Arabism, the loss of Palestine, the rise of Islamist threats at home, and the emergence of petrodollar regimes in the Arabian Gulf. As a result, the rhetoric of al-Andalus became “good to think” for wide audiences of Syrians. Musical genres linked to al-Andalus play an important role as potent vehicles for constructing Syrian memory cultures. Drawing on heavily mythologized and nostalgic visions of an Andalusian golden age, musical performance in Syria sonically reinforces forms of nostalgic remembrance and enacts claims on Syrian pasts, presents, and futures.

I thread my way through the crowd of evening shoppers in the Suq al-Buzuriyya, passing barrels of aromatic spices and nuts, as well as Ghraoui’s, my favorite chocolate shop. There’s no time to stop tonight, however, for I am headed to Khan As‘ad Pasha to hear a concert of Andalusian music. Accompanying me is my friend Husayn, a well-known ‘ūd player. We arrive to find the large Ottoman khan already crowded. Tonight’s concert is part of the Andalusian Music Festival sponsored by the Instituto Cervantes in Damascus, and features ensembles from Morocco and Spain. The Moroccan group, Ensemble Ibn ‘Arabi,¹ directed by the Tangier-based performer and scholar Ahmed El Khaligh, specializes in Islamic chant (*inshād*) and Sufi songs (*samā‘*) as well as instrumental music from North Africa. Wearing flowing white gowns, they are the very picture of authenticity. They begin their performance with a bow and salutation to the “noble shaykhs of Damascus” (*shuyūkh dimashq al-afāḍil*) and then present a short suite of songs, including some attributed to Ibn ‘Arabi. They conclude their performance with a few well-known Islamic chants. The music is somber yet pleasant as it echoes in the courtyard. The audience, a mix of mostly urbane Damascenes and curious foreigners, as well as a few local musicians, seems engaged enough, and some people sing along with the chants, though there is also the usual milling about and banter that one finds at this

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03 Ağustos 2017

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CHAPTER
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03 Ağustos 2017

VIOLENCE IN ISLAMIC THOUGHT FROM THE QUR'ĀN TO THE MONGOLS

* * *

EDITED BY
ROBERT GLEAVE AND
ISTVÁN T. KRISTÓ-NAGY

The Legitimate and Illegitimate Violence in Islamic Thought Project
(www.livitproject.net) funded by the RCUK Global Uncertainties Programme,
administered through the Economic and Social Research Council



EDINBURGH
University Press

2015

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	254018
Tas. No:	

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

24 Temmuz 2017

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN ANDALUSI HISTORICAL SOURCES (THIRD/NINTH- SEVENTH/THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

Maribel Fierro*

Episodes of violence in historical writings may reflect the use of *topoi* – an area of study that has considerably advanced our understanding of both Islamic historiography and history.¹ For example, the attribution of unusually cruel behaviour to a particular ruler – notwithstanding the possibility that such behaviour may have a historical basis – is used to justify his deposition, especially when it coincides with dynastic change.² Narratives of violence against women in medieval writings³ – still a much unexplored topic, especially as regards the

* CCHS-CSIC, Madrid. Data for this paper were initially collected within the project 'Violence and punishment in pre-modern Islamic societies (al-Andalus and the Maghreb)', Spanish Ministry of Education, BFF2002-00075 (2002–6). It has been completed within the project 'Knowledge, heresy and political culture in the Islamic West (second/eighth-ninth/fifteenth centuries) = KOHEPOCU', F03049 Advanced Research Grant, European Research Council (2009–14). I wish to thank Manuela Marín, Luis Molina and Amina Naciri for their help.

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21 Kasım 2017

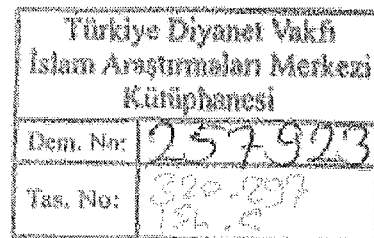
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THE ISLAMISATION OF AL-ANDALUS: RECENT STUDIES AND DEBATES*

Maribel Fierro

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES FROM HISTORY

EDITED BY A. C. S. PEACOCK



25 MAY 1997
 MADDE YAKININDAKİ
 ÇUKUR ÇELEN DOKÜMAN

DESCRIBING AL-ANDALUS – that is, the Muslim-ruled lands that now comprise Spain and Portugal – in the tenth century, the geographers al-Muqaddasi and Ibn Hawqal convey a landscape filled with Islamic markers such as mosques and religious scholars while lacking others such as storytellers (*quşşāy*). Ibn Hawqal refers to some rural areas where thousands of Christians ignorant of urban life resided. These rebelled from time to time, taking refuge in fortresses from which they fought ferociously and persistently against Muslim armies, and risking eventual extermination through their fierce resistance to being brought to obedience.¹ This description fits the first decades of the tenth century, when the eighth Umayyad amir of Cordoba, ‘Abd al-Rahman III, proceeded to ‘pacify’ those territories of al-Andalus where not only Christians but also Arabs, Berbers and new converts defied Umayyad rule. This successful endeavour eventually led to his proclamation as caliph in the land that an army of Arab and mostly Berber Muslims had conquered back in 711.

We have here the main ingredients for any reconstruction of the process of Islamisation of al-Andalus: the ethnic and religious components of the population; the competition among them for rule, which in turn influenced the process of conversion; the visual and auditory transformation of space through Islamic markers such as mosques, the call to prayer, ways of speaking and dressing, and most especially through the emergence and formation of the world of Islamic scholarship, which was the decisive step in consolidating an Islamic society in the Iberian Peninsula. Space could also be transformed by those resisting the process of Islamisation, for example through the erection of fortresses by the local population. This is understood by some modern scholars as reflecting a different social, political and religious order in which monasteries and churches such as those built by the most famous convert rebel, ‘Umar b. Hafsun (d. 918), were also an integral part.

* I wish to thank Virginia Vázquez for her help. This chapter has been written within the KOHEPOCU research project funded by an ERC Advanced Research Grant.

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MAPPE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
KÜTÜPHANESİ

12 Ocak 2019

D3919



BRILL

Books from Abroad: The Evolution of Science and Philosophy in Umayyad al-Andalus*

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Abstract

The contribution of al-Andalus to the history of science and philosophy begins in the Umayyad period, with the influx of books on the “sciences of the ancients”—the scientific and philosophical lore from the Greek tradition, with some Indo-Persian contributions—which came from the Levant or Ifrīqiya. The reception of these sources had a decisive influence on the quality of works written in al-Andalus and shaped the evolution of the history of science and philosophy in Islamic Spain. Rather than occurring by a gradual process, these works were absorbed via a succession of waves, which created four distinct phases in the acculturation of rational knowledge in al-Andalus of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. The article analyses the phases of this acculturation and assesses the driving forces behind the process: that is, the state’s patronage and the intellectual locales that were active during each of the four phases.

Keywords

science – medicine philosophy – al-Andalus – Umayyads

* Research for this paper has been funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy, project “La evolución de la ciencia en la sociedad de al-Andalus desde la Alta Edad Media al pre-Renacimiento y su repercusión en las culturas europeas y árabes (siglos X–XV)”, ref. FFI2011-30092-C02-01.

252217

MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS

EL ISLAM CRISTIANIZADO

*ESTUDIO DEL SUFISMO A
TRAVES DE LAS OBRAS DE
ABENARABI DE MURCIA*

Dibujos de Carlos de Miguel
SEGUNDA EDICION

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YADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Qur'anic Studies in al-Andalus: An Overview of the State of Research on *qirā'āt* and *tafsīr*

Adday Hernández López

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02687



This paper is an overview of the Andalusī production of *qirā'āt* and *tafsīr* on the basis of the data provided by bio-bibliographical resources that have become recently available ('Historia de los autores y transmisores Andalusíes/History of the Authors and Transmitters of al-Andalus', or HATA and the *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*).¹ It aims at providing an example of the wealth of information that such resources contain, while at the same time outlining the development of such genres in al-Andalus and offering a state-of-the-art assessment of the existing scholarship.² Although I will mention studies developed in the Arab-Islamic world, my contribution will mostly focus on publications stemming from Western academia and will follow the model provided by previous scholars such as Dominique Urvoy, Jesús Zanón, and Juan Manuel Vizcaíno, whose studies will be referred to in full below.

The HATA online catalogue is a resource created within several research projects held by the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) that contains information on 5,007 Andalusī authors and transmitters and 13,730 works produced and transmitted in al-Andalus.³ The HATA catalogue was finished in 2014 within the project 'Knowledge, Heresy and Political Culture in the Islamic West (Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries)' (KOHEPOCU) led by Maribel Fierro,⁴ and it consists of a chronologically and thematically ordered list of works written and transmitted in al-Andalus between the second/eighth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. The information contained in HATA has been retrieved from more than 100 Arabic sources (including biographical and bibliographical dictionaries, i.e. *fahāris*⁵).

Biblioteca de al-Andalus is an encyclopedia that includes 2,465 entries on Andalusī authors by a variety of scholars who specialise in al-Andalus.⁶ It was edited between 2004 and 2013 by Jorge Lirola and José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, founding members of the Ibn Tufayl Foundation of Arabic Studies.

Another resource employed for the identification of Andalusī scholars in this article is the PUA database ('Prosopografía de los Ulemas de al-Andalus').⁷ This database was established at the Escuela de Estudios Árabes in Granada under the direction of María Luisa Ávila, and consists of about 11,600 entries containing basic biographical information of the Andalusī '*ulamā*' and references to the bio-bibliographical dictionaries in which they are mentioned. As can be read in the introductory text of its website, the information has been extracted from Arab biographical dictionaries and organised in a database so that the researcher who works on these scholars can take advantage of the possibilities offered by digitised data processing.⁸

The Onset of Qur'anic Sciences in al-Andalus

The development of the various Qur'anic sciences started shortly after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, when disagreements on the way of reading the Qur'an started to become evident. The third caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (d. 35/655), tried to remedy these disagreements by promoting a canonical redaction of the Holy Text. In the first half of the fourth/tenth century, Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936)⁹ recognised only seven variants attributed to seven readers of the second/eighth century and banned every other version.¹⁰ But this attempt did not stop the circulation of other readings. As Nasser states in his book on *The Transmission of the Variant Readings*, 'shortly after the promulgation of Ibn Mujāhid's *Kitāb al-Sab'ā*, compilations on eight, ten, and beyond ten Readings started to appear more frequently'.¹¹ The maximum number of accepted variants was fourteen, but Nasser explains that no Reading beyond the ten-Reading canon was accepted as canonical, and thus would be categorised under the *shawādh* Readings.¹²

As Mahmud Ali Makki highlighted several decades ago in his book *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe*,¹³ the Qur'anic textual variants (*qirā'āt*) became known in al-Andalus—where al-Nāfi's textual variant became the authoritative version—by the end of the second/eighth century, as is corroborated by the number of transmissions by Andalusī scholars of this textual variant found in the section dedicated to the Qur'an and the Qur'anic sciences in HATA.

Several works of Qur'anic exegesis of the Meccan school were introduced in al-Andalus in the second/eighth century as well, such as the *tafsīr* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās (d. 68/687),¹⁴ one of the ten Companions who are said to be exegetes, or the *tafsīr* attributed to Abū Sufyān Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ al-Ru'āsī (d. 150/768).¹⁵ Ibn al-Jarrāḥ was a famous Iraqī traditionist born in Kufa, where his father was head of the *bayt al-māl* (the fiscal treasury of the Muslim state).¹⁶ He was educated in the Islamic sciences, mainly *ḥadīth*, and his *tafsīr* is one of the few works attributed to him. He had a remarkable influence on the early Andalusī scholars who

- 5655 GARCÍA MORENO, Luis A. La Historia preislámica *Ibn Haldun*
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30 Nisan 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA CELEN DOKÜMAN

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30 Nisan 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SUNTRACIILEL DONUMAN

In Other Words: The Ethics of the Translator in 17th-century al-Andalus. The Perspective of Aḥmad Ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī al-Andalusī

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*Noi non possiamo essere imparziali.
Possiamo essere soltanto intellettualmente onesti.*
GAETANO SALVEMINI

Abstract

This study focuses on a particular aspect of the Translation Studies or *Dirāsāt al-tarġamah*, i.e. the ethics of the translator.

Starting from the analysis of concepts like “cultural otherness” or “linguistic hospitality”, theorized by Antoine Berman, Lawrence Venuti and Paul Ricoeur, and concerning the translator’s process of mediating between languages and between cultures, it will be taken into account the specific case of a muslim traveller and interpreter, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥaġarī al-Andalusī (d. 1051/1641), author of the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-dīn alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, who was asked, by a Christian authority (the Archbishop of Granada), to translate some Arabic manuscripts.

In such a context, the act of translating highlights not only the problem of hermeneutics and inter-religious dialogue, as interpretation of a different text and a different faith’s language, but also the problem of ethic relationships inherent in encountering the *Other*.

Keywords

Translation Studies – Linguistic hospitality – Ethics of the Translator – *Riḥlah* – 17th-century al-Andalus

One of the most interesting aspects related to Translation Studies—as a complex and systematic study of the theory, description and application of translation—concerns the ethics of the translator. Among the most relevant works on this subject, it is worth mentioning Antoine Berman and Lawrence Venuti’s essays, which focus on the concept of “cultural otherness”:

Every step in the translation process—from the selection of foreign texts to the implementation of translation strategies to the editing, reviewing, and reading of translations—is mediated by the diverse cultural values that circulate in the target language, always in some hierarchical order. The translator, who works with varying degrees of calculation, under continuous self-monitoring and often with active consultation of cultural rules and resources (from dictionaries and grammars to other texts, translation strategies, and translations, both canonical and marginal), may submit to or resist dominant values in the target language, with either course of action susceptible to on-going redirection. Submission assumes an ideology of assimilation at work in the translation process, locating the same in a cultural other, pursuing a cultural narcissism that is imperialistic abroad and conservative, even reactionary, in maintaining canons at home. Resistance assumes an ideology of autonomy, locating the alien in a cultural other, pursuing cultural diversity, foregrounding the linguistic and cultural differences of the source-language text and transforming the hierarchy of cultural values in the target language. Resistance too can be imperialistic abroad, appropriating foreign texts to serve its own cultural political interests at home; but insofar as it resists values that exclude certain texts, it performs an act of cultural restoration which aims to question and possibly re-form, or simply smash the idea of, domestic canons.¹

This theory, with the evident ideological implications connected to the idea of cultural imperialism, is based on the premise that translating and interpreting cannot be considered solely as processes of language transfer but also as socially and politically directed activities.²

- 1 Venuti, L. *The Translator’s invisibility. A history of translation*. London, New York, Routledge, 1995, p. 308-309. See also Berman, A. “Translation and the Trials of the Foreign”. In: Venuti, L. (ed.). *The Translation Studies Reader*. New York, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 284-297.
- 2 Inghilleri, M., Maier C., “Ethics”. In: Baker, M., Malmkjær, K. (eds). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. New York, London, Routledge, 2001, p. 100-103; see also Inghilleri, M. “The ethical task of the translator in the geo-political arena from Iraq to Guantánamo

02694


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SUNUKA GELEN DOKÜMAN

02 Temmuz 2018

مناسبات سیاسی و نظامی بربرها با خلفای اموی اندلس (۱۳۸-۴۲۲ق.)

Endüls
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سهراب اسلامی^۱

یونس فرهمند^۲



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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN OK

02 Temmuz 2018

چکیده: جنگجویان بربر نقش مهمی در تجدید حیات خلافت اموی از زمان عبدالرحمن داخل (۱۳۸-۱۷۲ق.) تا دوره خلافت ایفا کردند. ستاره اقبال آنان به جهت توانایی‌ها و ویژگی‌های نظامی در تمام دوره حکومت اموی فروزان بود و از این رو برخی از آنان توانستند به فرماندهی سپاه اموی دست یابند و امرا و خلفای اندلس برای مقابله با شورش‌ها از بربرها یاری می‌گرفتند؛ اما انحصارطلبی و عرب‌گرایی حاکمان اموی موجب بروز اختلافاتی میان این دو شد که تا واپسین روزهای دوره اموی ادامه داشت و موجب انواع شورش‌های مذهبی، سیاسی و قبیله‌ای از سوی بربرها شد. نوشتار حاضر به دنبال بررسی این مسئله است که مناسبات سیاسی و نظامی بربرها با امویان اندلس چگونه بوده است؟ ارائه تصویری واقع‌بینانه در زمینه مناسبات سیاسی و نظامی بربرها و حکومت اموی اندلس هدف مقاله حاضر است که نیل بدان تنها از طریق توصیف و تحلیل وقایع قابل انجام است و می‌توان گفت روابط سیاسی و نظامی بربرها با حکومت اموی به قدرت حاکم و منافع آنها مرتبط بوده است.

واژه‌های کلیدی: بربرها، عرب‌ها، امویان اندلس، شورش‌های بربر

۳۳-۵۲

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farahmand@srbiu.ac.ir

تاریخ تأیید: ۹۵/۰۶/۰۶

تاریخ دریافت: ۹۴/۱۲/۲۰

Endülü's
050847

نكبة قادة الأندلس

في عهد المنصور السعدي

02 Temmuz 2018

Mecelletü'l-Cemiyeti'l-Tarihîyyeti's-Suudiyye,
sene 9, sy. 18, 1423/2008 Riyad. s. 67-116.

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د. فهد بن محمد السويكت

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VOLUME 34

261447

Endülos (050847)

Revisiting *Al-Andalus*

Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic
Iberia and Beyond

Edited by

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02 Temmuz 2018

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	261447
Tas. No:	946.02 REV-A

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they have accepted persons baptised with water in the name of the Trinity without requiring them to undergo a further baptism. In this way they have followed the norms indicated by Canon 9 of the Second Ecumenical Council and by Canon 95 of the Council *in Trullo*. But, alike in the past and today, there are also other Orthodox who adhere to the 'rigorist' viewpoint, and who maintain that all converts should be baptised, in accordance with Apostolic Canon 46 [45]. It would be helpful if, in the not-too-distant future, a pan-Orthodox Council could issue a ruling on this matter. It would also be helpful if the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in consultation with the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Jerusalem, would formally revoke the decree of 1755, so that in canonical terms the practice of receiving converts without rebaptism would no longer be a matter merely of 'economy', but would be seen as an expression of 'strictness' ('akriveia'). But it may well be some time before that actually happens.

Chapter 2

Heresy and Political Legitimacy in

Al-Andalus

Maribel Fierro¹

Andalus (050847)

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
GÖZLEME GİLEN DOKÜMAN

02 Temmuz 2018

Revisiting the 'Orthodoxy' of Al-Andalus

In *The Origins of European Dissent*, R.I. Moore includes a map indicating the channels through which various 'heretical' doctrines – thought to have originated in the East – reached Europe and influenced the rise of European dissent. What struck me when I first saw that map in the 1977 edition of Moore's book was not only what it said about the past, but also what it manifested about the present, in other words, how it illustrated the marginal position the medieval Iberian Peninsula has had in the writing of European history. On this map the spread of those heresies stops at the Pyrenees, with the Iberian Peninsula figuring as a blank space, as if no heretical doctrine of any provenance had crossed the mountains in either direction during that period.²

By contrast, some 30 years later, in a speech delivered in Cairo in June 2009, President Barack Obama made a reference to the Muslim part of the Peninsula, al-Andalus, as an example of an Islamic society in which we can recognize fundamental values on which Western societies have also been built, a conception of the West that in the twenty-first century seems to have assimilated the Iberian Peninsula into its world-view.³ To quote President Obama's words:

¹ * I wish to thank Julio Escalona, Axel Müller and Hugh Kennedy, all of whom in different ways made possible the lecture – sponsored by the Banco Santander Central Hispano – given at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds 13–16 July 2009 and on which this chapter is based. What I present here draws both on my previous research and on the recent studies carried out within the project 'Knowledge, Heresy and Political Culture in the Islamic West (Eighth to Fifteenth Century)', Advanced Research Grant – European Research Council (2009–14) that I am presently directing.

² Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) (with two later editions: Oxford: Basil Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1985; Buffalo, Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Medieval Academy of America, 1994).

³ Mercedes García-Arenal, 'Historiens de l'Espagne, historiens du Maroc au XIXème siècle: comparaison de stéréotypes', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 3 (1999): 687–703.



التراث المعماري والعمراني الأندلسي

Endülüs 050847 Camii 030073

د. محمد هشام النعسان
حلب - سوريا

ملاحح تخطيط المدينة الأندلسية الإسلامية:

لقد خضع تخطيط المدينة العربية الإسلامية في الأندلس لقواعد عامة محددة برزت من بينها ثلاث قواعد:

- الأول: المسجد الجامع الذي أعطى للمدينة طابعها الإسلامي.

- الثاني: مقر الحكم وإدارة الدولة.

- الثالث: خطة المدينة التي تشمل توزيع استعمالات الأرض المختلفة داخل المدينة.

وأن التخطيط في المدن الإسلامية يعتمد بالدرجة الأساس على واحد من أربعة: القرآن الكريم، والسنة النبوية^(١)، والفقه^(٢)، والشريعة... فكان بناء مساجد الخطط إلزاميًا؛ حيث كان لها دور في إدارة المدينة، فقد كان فيه المجلس الذي يجتمع فيه الناس ويحكم بينهم ويعلمون أولادهم فيه، وكانت بعض المرافق العامة الخاصة بالخطة ملاصقة أو مجاورة لها مثل: السوق والحمام والخان والبيمارستان وغيرها.. كما كانت أوامر وتعليمات الخليفة أو الأمير للناس تصل إلى هذه المساجد أو المجالس^(٣).

وكان للماء أثر حيوي في تصميم المدن الأندلسية وتنظيمها ووظائفها، قال تعالى: ﴿وَجَعَلْنَا مِنَ الْمَاءِ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ حَيًّا﴾ (سورة الأنبياء: ٣٠).

وكان هناك خطتان معماريتان: الخطة الشريطية؛ أي امتداد بعض الأمصار على طول

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Dem. No:	264079
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University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor
2017

Endülüs
050847

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268183

LES ROYAUMES DE TAIFAS

02 Kasım 2013

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Dem. No:	268183
Tas. No:	946.02 651-R

Ouvrage
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16 RUE DE LA GRANDE CHAUMIÈRE - 75006 PARIS

ISBN : 978-2-7053-3795-4

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conception de la couverture :
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*Ibn Barrajān and Islamic Thought
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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

2017

الجيش الأندلسي

في عهد عبد الرحمن الناصر

٣٠٠ - ٣٥٠ هـ / ٩١٢ - ٩٦١ م

أ. صالح بن علي بن محمد الربع
المملكة العربية السعودية

لم يكن الجيش الأندلسي في عصر الولاة جيشاً نظامياً بالمعنى المعروف، بل كان عبارة عن مجموعات عسكرية قائمة على أساس قبلي، وكان معظم أفراد ذلك الجيش من العرب والبربر، وكانت بداية تكوين الجيش النظامي في عهد الأمير عبدالرحمن الداخل (١٣٨-١٧٢هـ/٧٥٦-٧٨٩م) فبعد أن أقام الدولة الأموية عام ١٣٨ هـ / ٧٥٦ م استراب من العرب والبربر، فعمل على إعادة بناء وتنظيم جيشه وكون جيشاً نظامياً يدين له بالولاء والطاعة من المماليك والبربر ولم يستغن الداخل عن الكور المجندة التي ظلت خير داعم له، كما استحدثت الداخل قوة عسكرية جديدة من العبيد السود الشجعان تعرف بعرافة السود.

عسكرية جديدة عناصرها من المماليك الذين اختارهم بعناية، ودرّبهم على ركوب الخيل واستخدام السلاح، وجعل مقرهم بالقرب من قصره، وقد عمل أفراد هذه الفرقة بنظام المناوبات ليكونوا جاهزين طوال اليوم، ويتضح من خلال هذه الدراسة أن الجيش في عهد الحكم بن هشام كان أكثر تنظيمًا وتدريبًا مما كان عليه في عهد والده هشام وجده عبدالرحمن الداخل.

ومع تولى عبدالرحمن بن الحكم (٢٠٦-٢٣٨هـ/٨٢١-٨٥٢م) أعاد تنظيم الوزارة واستحدث العديد من المناصب كوزير الثغور

ولم تطرأ أي تعديلات على الجيش في عهد هشام بن عبد الرحمن (١٧٢-١٨٠هـ/٧٨٩-٨٢١م) فقد سار على نهج والده في الاهتمام بالجند وأحوالهم وتجنيد المماليك.

أما الحكم بن هشام (١٨٠-٢٠٦هـ/٧٩٦-٨٢١م) فقد عرف عنه الاهتمام بالجيش؛ حيث ذكرت المصادر التاريخية استنكاره من الجند المرتزقة وجلب المماليك وجمع الأسلحة والعدد، وقد استحدثت الحكم بعض الفرق العسكرية الخاصة لحراسة قصر الإمارة وفرق للتدخل السريع لإخماد الثورات، وقام بتشكيل قوة

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Muslims, Christians, and Jews
under Islamic Rule in Medieval Spain



Muslim horsemen and their black slave warriors herding Christian prisoners and their cattle: from the *Cantigas de Santa María*, thirteenth-century illuminated manuscript

Darío Fernández-Morera

02 Kasım 2018

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Wilmington, Delaware

2016

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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25 Temmuz 2018

2344 GUTIÉRREZ DE TERÁN, Ignacio. The Andalusian
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والمعجم في أصحاب القاضي أبي علي الصدفي^(١)، وإعتاب الكتاب^(٢)، والمقتضب من تحفة القادم^(٣)، وغيرها، وكذلك عبد الواحد المراكشي المتوفى سنة ١٦٤٧هـ/ ١٢٤٩م صاحب كتاب «المعجب في تلخيص أخبار المغرب»^(٤)، وعلي بن موسى ابن سعيد المتوفى سنة ٦٨٥هـ/ ١٢٨٧م أحد مؤلفي كتاب «المغرب في حلى المغرب»^(٥)، وغيرهم

وعندما ظهرت مملكة غرناطة قامت بالحفاظ على تراث الأندلس، وبإيواء الوافدين إليها من المدن الأخرى، وكان من بينهم العلماء والكتّاب والشعراء، وبإثراء الحياة الفكرية بالمؤلفات الجيدة في مختلف العلوم والفنون.

ويأتي في مقدمة من أنجبتهم غرناطة: أبو عبد الله محمد بن جزي الكاتب الشاعر المتوفى سنة ٧٥٧هـ/ ١٣٥٦م، وأبو جعفر بن خاتمة الشاعر والمؤرخ المعروف المتوفى سنة ٧٧٠هـ/ ١٣٦٩م^(٦)، ولسان الدين بن الخطيب السلطاني

(١) حقه: أ. إبراهيم الإياري - سلسلة المكتبة الأندلسية (١٦) - دار الكتاب المصري بالقاهرة بالاشتراك مع دار الكتاب اللبناني بيروت - ط ١، ١٤١٠هـ/ ١٩٨٩م.

(٢) طبع للمرة الأولى بدمشق سنة ١٣٨٠هـ/ ١٩٦١م، ثم حقه حديثاً وعلق عليه وقدم له: د. صالح الأشر - مطبوعات مجمع اللغة العربية بدمشق - د.ت.

(٣) تحقيق: أ. إبراهيم الإياري - منشورات دار الكتاب المصري بالقاهرة بالاشتراك مع دار الكتاب اللبناني بيروت - ط ٢ - ١٤٠٨هـ/ ١٩٨٢م.

(٤) حقه ونشره: محمد سعيد العريان - منشورات المجلس الأعلى للشئون الإسلامية - لجنة تحقيق التراث الإسلامي (الكتاب الثالث) - الجمهورية العربية المتحدة - القاهرة، ١٣٨٣هـ/ ١٩٦٣م.

(٥) تحقيق: د. شوقي صيف - دار المعارف - سلسلة ذخائر العرب (١٠) - القاهرة - ط ٣ منقحة - د.ت.

(٦) له كتاب تاريخي مشهور يدرج ضمن كتب تواريخ المدن عنوانه: «زفة المرية على غيرها»

أسابيع، وانتهى الفريقان إلى وضع معاهدة للتسليم وافق عليها الملكان، ووُقعت في (٢١ من المحرم سنة ٨٩٧هـ/ ٢٥ من نوفمبر سنة ١٤٩١م)، وتضمنت المعاهدة شروطاً عديدة، غير أن هذه الشروط وتلك العهود لم تكن في الواقع - حسبما أيدت الحوادث فيما بعد - سوى ستار للغدر والخيانة؛ فقد تم نقض كل هذه الشروط، وأجبر المسلمون بعد سقوط غرناطة على الهجرة خارج البلاد والتنصر، وبذلك أسدل الستار على الوجود الإسلامي في الأندلس.

هذه هي أهم الأحداث السياسية التي عاصر مؤرخنا ابن عذارى بعض فصولها في الأندلس، وسجلها في كتابه «البيان المغرب»، ولا شك أن هذا الاضطراب وتلك الفتن التي كانت تموج بها مملكة غرناطة في الأندلس كان لها تأثيرها على قلمه ومشاعره عند تدوين تاريخ تلك الحقبة الدامية من تاريخ المسلمين في الأندلس، وكانت له مواقف من بعض أحداثها المؤسفة، معلقاً ومفسراً وشارحاً كما يظهر في ثنايا كتابه موضع الدراسة.

* ثانياً - الأوضاع العلمية والثقافية في الأندلس:

شهد النصف الثاني من القرن السابع الهجري / الثالث عشر الميلادي في الأندلس، أي في آخريات دولة الموحدين، نهضة علمية، فبرز خلال هذه الفترة عدد من العلماء المبرزين في مختلف المجالات، فكان منهم أبو عبد الله محمد بن الأبار المتوفى بتونس سنة ٦٥٨هـ/ ١٢٦٠م، وهو من العلماء الموسوعيين، وله الكثير من المصنفات، منها: التكملة لكتاب الصلة^(١)، والحلة السيرة في أشعار الأمراء^(٢)،

(١) آخر التحقيقات الجيدة له رغم ما فيها من أخطاء تحقيق: د. عبد السلام الهراس - دار الفكر للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع - بيروت، ١٤١٥هـ/ ١٩٩٥م.

(٢) حقه في جزأين: د. حسين مؤنس - دار المعارف - القاهرة - ط ٢ - ١٩٨٥م.

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الحياة العلمية الطبية في الأندلس

في عصر المجريطي، ابن عبد ربه أنموذجاً

أ.د. خالد بصمه جي

معهد التراث العلمي العربي

المقدمة:

شهد الأندلس في القرن الرابع للهجرة يقظة علمية مميزة من الازدهار في مختلف مجالات العلوم السائدة آنذاك، ومن ضمنها الصناعة الطبية الصيدلانية، ولاسيما في عهد الخليفة عبد الرحمن الناصر (٣٠٠-٣٥٠ هـ / ٩١٢-٩٦١ م) وابنه الحاكم المستنصر بالله، الذي أسس مكتبة علمية ضمت ما يقرب من أربعمئة ألف مجلد سهر بنفسه على توفير البيئة الملائمة لقيام أطباء وعلماء الأندلس في تلك الحقبة بدراسة هذه الكتب المتوفرة لهم، ومن ثم تأليفهم الكتب والمقالات العلمية وتطوير مواضيعها، باستخدامهم اللغة العربية ذات الأسلوب الجميل والعبارات الواضحة ودقة المصطلحات فيما صنّفوه^(١).

ومن الملاحظ أن مدينة قرطبة في ذلك العصر قد أصبحت عاصمة للعلوم في أوربة والغرب الإسلامي؛ إذ كان يؤمها طلاب العلم والعلماء من رياضيين وفلكيين وأطباء وسواهم من ذوي الاختصاصات العلمية المختلفة، والذي حضروا من المشرق والمغرب على حد سواء، بغية تلقي العلوم المزدهرة في قرطبة، أو الحصول على الخبرات المتطورة آنذاك، وأيضاً لحضور الدروس والمحاضرات التي كان يلقونها علماء الأندلس وأطبائها في جو حضاري تسوده بيئة مفعمة بالحرية والتسامح، وعطاء علمي بلا حدود.

لقد نالت العلوم العقلية مرتبة رفيعة في الأندلس، بفضل اهتمام الخليفة عبد الرحمن الناصر وابنه الحاكم المستنصر بالله (٣٥٠-٣٦٦ هـ / ٩٦١-٩٧٦ م)، حيث جمعت الكتب وتم اقتناؤها من كافة أنحاء العالم، كما تم تكريم العلماء وإجلالهم، الأمر الذي أدى إلى حدوث

١- محمد العربي الخطابي - ١٩٨٨، الطب والأطباء في الأندلس الإسلامية، الجزء الأول، دار الغرب الإسلامي، بيروت، ص ١١-٤٨، محمد هشام نعبان، محمود مصري - ٢٠٠٥، الجراحة في الطب الأندلسي، المجمع الثقافي، أبوظبي، الإمارات العربية المتحدة، ص ١٩-٣٧.



منشورات جامعة حلب
معهد التراث العلمي العربي



أبحاث

المؤتمر السنوي الثامن والعشرين لتاريخ العلوم عند العرب

المنعقد في جامعة حلب

٢٥ - ٢٧ حزيران ٢٠٠٧ م

تحرير وإعداد

الأستاذ الدكتور مصطفى موالي

عميد معهد التراث العلمي العربي

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

التأثيرات الاجتماعية المتبادلة بين المسلمين والإسبان في الأندلس

مقدمة:

عاشت الحضارة الإسلامية على أرض الأندلس ما يزيد على ثمانية قرون ، شاركت فيها سكان إسبانيا المسيحيين حياتهم منذ لحظة الفتح وحتى النهاية ، حدث خلالها تبادل حضارى بين كل الجانبين . ولهذا كان الهدف الأساسى لهذا البحث ليس محاولة تغليب جانب حضارى على جانب حضارى آخر ، وإنما محاولة استخراج أوجه التعاون الحضارى بين حضارتين أو شعبين فرض عليهما - سواء سلباً أم حروباً - أن يظلا جنباً إلى جنب فيما يزيد على ثمانية قرون . وقد أثرت أن أتاول جانباً واحداً ، وهو الجانب الاجتماعى الذى ارتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بحياة الأشخاص اليومية فى المجتمع الأندلسى .

والحقيقة أن التأثيرات الاجتماعية المتبادلة فى الأندلس بين المسلمين والإسبان كانت من أبرز التأثيرات على كافة الأصعدة . وساعد كثيراً فى انتقالها بين طوائف وجماعات المجتمع الأندلسى على اختلاف عقائده وأفراده ، تلك الحرية والتسامح الذى انتهجه ولاة وحكام الأندلس - منذ الفتح الإسلامى وحتى النهاية - تجاه تلك الطوائف من يهود ونصارى ومستعربين حيث كانوا يمارسون أنشطتهم وطقوسهم فى حرية تامة مما ساعد على امتزاج تلك الجماعات على أرض الأندلس^(١) وسهل كثيراً فى انتقال المؤثرات والعادات فى سهولة ويسر بين كافة الطوائف .

* مدرس التاريخ الإسلامى والحضارة الإسلامية - كلية الآداب - جامعة حلوان .

مجلة المؤرخ العربى

يصدرها اتحاد المؤرخين العرب بالقاهرة

العدد الحادى عشر - المجلد الأول

مارس - ٢٠٠٣م

اندلس، حوزه تمدنی

إصبهان است که به اسپانیا تحریف شده و این اصبهان همان است که اشبیلیه را بنا کرده و اشبانیه به اشبیلیه اطلاق می‌شود. سپس به همه اندلس اطلاق شد و عجم آن جا را اشبانیه خواند (همان، ج ۱، ص ۶۹). ابن اثیر می‌نویسد: مسیحیان، اندلس را به نام یکی از ملوک آن جا اشبانه می‌گویند و بطلمیوس نیز آن جا را بدین نام خوانده است (ابن اثیر، ج ۱، ص ۶۷). به نوشته ابن خلدون، اندلس از فندلس می‌آید و مراد او از فندلس، فندال یا واندال است (ابن خلدون، ج ۲، ص ۲۳۵). عبدالله عنان از قول بکری مطلبی را نقل کرده که در هیچ یک از دو کتاب موجود او وجود ندارد. نقل شده که نام پیشین اندلس، اباریه است که از وادی ابره گرفته شده، سپس باطقه یا باتیکا خوانده شد که از وادی بیطی که رود قُرطبه در آن جاری است گرفته شده است (عنان، ج ۱، پاورقی، ص ۴۷). بعضی هم گفته‌اند که نام اصلی این سرزمین آشباریه یا هیسباریه از اشبرش گرفته شده و آن ستاره‌ای است که به ستاره سرخ معروف است. سپس اندلس نامیده شد به نام قوم اندلیش که در آن جا زندگی می‌کردند. مراد از اندلیش هم واندال است. اصطلاحات جغرافیایی اندلس و جزیره‌الاندلس در عالم اسلام تا اواخر قرون وسطی به تمام شبه‌جزیره ایبری، یعنی اسپانیا و پرتغال کنونی اطلاق می‌شده است. نویسندگان عرب نام اندلس را بر اسپانیای تحت حکومت اسلامی قطع نظر از وسعت آن اطلاق می‌کردند (همان‌جا).

(یا: اندلس)

شبه‌جزیره‌ای در جنوب اروپا که تا قرن‌ها بطن بخش اسلامی اروپا را تشکیل می‌داد. اندلس اسلامی با مساحتی حدود ۸۷/۵۷۰ کیلومتر مربع در جنوب شبه‌جزیره ایبری در کنار دریای مدیترانه قرار داشته و از شمال به ایالت کاتالونیا (قطلونیه قدیم) از جنوب به دریای مدیترانه و تنگه جبل‌الطارق، از شرق به دریای مدیترانه و از غرب به قشتاله (گالیسی) و پرتغال محدود بوده است. کوه‌های سیرانوادا و سیرامورنا با جهت شرقی - غربی در این منطقه کشیده شده و رود گوآدالکویر در این منطقه جاری است.

وجه تسمیه: عرب واژه اسپانیا را برای شبه‌جزیره‌ای که به این نام معروف است به کار نمی‌برد، بلکه سراسر آن شبه‌جزیره را اندلس می‌گوید. در روایات عربی، اندلس به اسپانیای مسلمان اطلاق می‌شود، یعنی سرزمین‌هایی که پس از فتح به دست مسلمان‌ها افتاد، غیر از جلیقیه و ولایات جبال پیرنه. بعضی نوشته‌اند آن جا را به نام نخستین ساکنان آن در اعصار کهن که قومی از عجمان بوده‌اند و اندگوش نام داشتند نامیده‌اند (مقرئ، ۱۴۰۶ ق، ج ۱، ص ۶۷). در بعضی از روایات عربی هم آمده است که اسپانیا از نام یکی از پادشاهان روم موسوم به اشبان بن ططش گرفته شده است. این پادشاه به نیروی افریقایی‌ها در اندلس غلبه کرد و از آن به بعد، آن جا را اشبانیه خواندند. عده‌ای هم می‌گویند نام اصلی این پادشاه

د. أحمد محمد إسماعيل الجمال (*)

طرق التجارة الخارجية للمغرب والاندلس

خلال القرن السادس الهجرى / الثانى عشر الميلادى
(عصر الموحدين)

أولاً : الحياة الاقتصادية فى عهد الموحدين:

أسس الموحدون دولتهم على أسس مركزية قوية، وانعكست تلك الصورة على الوضع الاقتصادى الذى تميز بالتطور الذى شمل جميع القطاعات الاقتصادية نتيجة للظروف الطبيعية الملائمة ، وسيادة الأمن والاستقرار ، باستثناء فترات قصيرة نتجت عن بعض الفتن والثورات .

وقد تعددت مصادر الثروة الاقتصادية فى المغرب والاندلس. ففى المجال الزراعى: شهد العصر الموحدى جهوداً كبيرة لتوفير المياه للزراعة وذلك بتنظيم وسائل الري والصرف ، بإنشاء الجسور والقناطر والسدود وحفر الترغ والقنوات التى لاحصر لها فى مختلف الأنحاء^(١)، فى مراكش وسلا والرباط^(٢)، وفاس وسبته^(٣)، بالمغرب ، وفى أشبيلية^(٤) بالاندلس. وترتب على مشاريع الري استصلاح واستغلال أراضى كثيرة فى الفترة الموحدية (القرن السادس الهجرى) . وأغلب الظن أن هذا الجهد الموحدى شجع الناس على الزراعة، فلحنوا يستثمرون أراضى لم تكن زراعية من قبل ففى أشبيلية شملت الزراعة

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مجلة المؤرخ العربى

يصدرها اتحاد المؤرخين العرب بالقاهرة

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

01 Haziran 2019

العدد الثانى عشر - المجلد الأول

مارس ٢٠٠٤ م

منشورات اتحاد



القاهرة

may God have mercy upon him, that he confirmed and consented to everything his (my brother-in-law's) mother sold to his sister.

(23) Recently, the girl needed (24) to sell the house, but he delayed the matter and said, "You will only sell (25) the house without the stairway, for the stairway is my property and my possession". He started telling anyone who came to inspect⁶¹ it (i.e. the house): "Buy the [house without] (26) the stairway". The matter is ruining her. He (i.e. the servant, the writer of the letter) wants by (writing) this (letter) to put an end to (the brother-in-law's demanding) a bribe and ransom from her and her hunger (?)⁶² [...]

(27) And in a place where a dirham is spent, he spends on it half (a dirham).

(28) The servant informed the lord what transpired, so act according to what the noble law requires. *May your peace increase.*



01 Temmuz 2019

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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⁶¹For *qallaba l-milk /mulk* as inspecting a house before buying it, see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, IV:373 note 33, and Diem and Radenberg, *Dictionary*, xii and 178.

⁶²As can be seen from the many editorial insertions, the translation of this sentence is uncertain. For *muşāna'a* as a bribe, see Friedman, *Dictionary*, 742–3.

Was the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba as Strong as Arab Chroniclers Claimed?¹

Josep Suñé Arce

ABSTRACT

Arabic sources recall the tenth and early eleventh centuries as the time when Andalusian armies achieved their greatest military triumphs over the Christian kingdoms and counties of northern Iberia. Some of those victories were truly spectacular and their like would never happen again. However, this view is also the result of the concealment, justification, and minimisation of defeats, as well as of the exaggeration of the successes achieved. This follows from a critical reading of Muslim chronicles and from the study of the data provided by Latin sources. The present article discusses some of the aforementioned practices of chroniclers and analyses whether the image offered by Arab compilers overstated the true military potential of the Umayyad Andalusian Caliphate. It concludes that caliphal armies were already showing some alarming signs of weakness during this period.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 28 June 2018
Accepted 19 August 2018

KEYWORDS

Al-Andalus; Compilations;
Official memory; *jihād*;
Caliphal crisis

Introduction

In 912, the emir 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir came to power and the *hājib* 'Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar died in 1008. During this period, al-Andalus would see the formation of a new Umayyad Caliphate (929) and the advent of an era of political and military splendour that would bring about the submission of Christian kingdoms and counties.² Andalusian rulers, who would exercise their dominion over the Iberian Peninsula and part of the western Maghreb, were to achieve considerable success against the peoples of northern Iberia. These triumphs reached their peak when the caliphs delegated state functions to 'āmirid *hājibs*, who in turn developed an intense *jihād* policy. The capture of Barcelona in 985, the sacking of Santiago de Compostela in 997, and the battle of Clunia in 1007 were some of the great victories achieved in that period. However, Andalusian supremacy would collapse as soon as the so-called *al-fitna al-barbariyya* or Second Fitna of al-Andalus (1009) broke out and led to the fragmentation of the Caliphate into a number of

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¹An abridged version of this article was presented at the *International Medieval Congress 2018* in Leeds. This work falls within the framework of the research project *Génesis de la nobleza medieval: fortificaciones y poderes territoriales en el nordeste peninsular durante los siglos VIII-XI* (HAR2015-63661-P; MINECO - FEDER), currently under development by the consolidated research group *Ocupació, organització i defensa del territori medieval* (Ocorde) (AGAUR -UAB, UB-2017SGR805).

²Maribel Fierro, *Abdarramán III y el califato omeya de Córdoba* (Donostia/San Sebastián: Nerea, 2011), pp. 67–111; Eduardo Manzano-Moreno, *Conquistadores, emires y califas: Los omeyas y la formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2011), pp. 363–503.

İqrītish, the dynasty

16 Ekim 2016

The **İqrītish dynasty** (early third/ninth century to 350/961) was a minor dynasty in Crete, established by the Andalusian Abū Ḥafş Umar b. Shu'ayb al-Ballūṭī, who led a group of refugees expelled from Andalusia by the *amīr* al-Ḥakam I (r. 180–206/796–822). Abū Ḥafş, also called Ibn al-Ghalīz (the fat, or tough), was a little-known inhabitant of Pedroche (Biṭrawsh), in the suburb Faḥş al-Ballūṭī, a district of Islamic al-Andalus north of Córdoba (Christides, Abū Ḥafş, 7–8). The new dynasty lasted until the re-conquest of Crete in 350/961 by the Byzantine general Nicephorus Phocas.

The Andalusians were not sent by their ruler, the *amīr* al-Ḥakam I (r. 180–206/796–822), to conquer Byzantine Crete but instead were forcibly expelled by him after their unsuccessful revolution in Córdoba, circa 202/818 (Fierro, 213). Although Córdoba at the time of al-Ḥakam I had not yet acquired the splendour of later times, it was already a majestic city with a constantly increasing number of suburbs towards the south (Kubisch, 218, 222–3; Triki, 183); it was in one of these suburbs that the abortive revolution began. Prominent among the newly founded districts of Córdoba was al-Rabaḍ (“the suburb” par excellence), inhabited mainly by newly converted Muslims (*muwalladūn*), who were shopkeepers, small merchants, and artisans (Guichard, 14–5).

The revolution of 202/818 was instigated by the *muwalladūn* of al-Rabaḍ, who allied with some learned Arabs, the *fuqahā'* (Guichard, 14). It failed miserably, and al-Ḥakam slaughtered most of the rebels (although sparing the lives of the *fuqahā'*) and razed the suburb (Lévi-Provençal, 169). The surviving inhabitants

of al-Rabaḍ, numbering a few thousand men, women, and children, were split into two groups. The first sailed to Morocco and settled peacefully in Fez, while the second group undertook a long, perilous journey, starting probably from Almería (Mariyya), crossed the Mediterranean, raided Byzantine Sicily (Christides, The odyssey) and sailed through the Aegean which, as both the Arabic and Greek sources report, was empty of Byzantine ships (Christides, *Conquest*, 87) because of the disarray in the Byzantine navy caused by the socio-economic revolution of Thomas, which shook the Byzantine Empire from 821 to 823, destroyed the provincial Byzantine fleet, and inflicted a long-lasting and disastrous impact on the Byzantine maritime defences (Christides, The cycle, 23). It is clear from the Greek and Arabic sources that the “refugees,” as they are called by Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076; Ibn Ḥayyān, 59), raided several Greek islands in the Aegean, including Crete (c. 207/823), but they were not “pirates,” as they are labelled in the mainly hagiological Byzantine sources. The majority of them, as Lévi-Provençal reports, were not even sailors, and their transportation was arranged for on Andalusian ships (Lévi-Provençal, 171).

The Andalusian refugees settled first in Alexandria, which they managed to subdue, profiting from the anarchy that prevailed in Egypt as a result of the civil war following the death of the 'Abbāsīd caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), with the warring factions led by Ḥārūn's sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn (Kennedy, 148–57). In Alexandria, the Andalusians managed to overthrow the weak local government and governed the city briefly, until the 'Abbāsīd general 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, sent by the caliph al-Ma'mūn to Alexandria, forced them to abandon

حضور الأندلس في الذاكرة الجماعية العربية، وفي الوقت نفسه، سيظهر اهتمام علمي من طرف المثقفين العرب بتخصصاتهم المختلفة، بهذا الموروث الحضاري.

لماذا انبعث هذا الاهتمام بشكل نكاد نقول إنه مفاجئ؟ هل هو نتيجة ظهور نخبة ثقافية «مُكْتَشِفَةٌ» للموروث؟ وكيف تمثلت تلك النخبة هذا الموروث؟ وهل حاولت أن تعثر من خلاله في الماضي على ما لم تعثر عليه في الحاضر؟

ذلك ما سنحاول مناقشته في هذا البحث، الذي قسمناه قسمين؛ يتناول الأول الأندلس في الذاكرة العربية، ويتناول الثاني الأندلس في الكتابات العربية؛ والتي ميزنا فيها حقولاً معرفية من إبداعية مختلفة، هي: التاريخ والأدب والمسرح والفلسفة. وقد انتقينا لأجل ذلك مجموعة من الأعمال أخذناها كنموذج للتحليل؛ إما بسبب طول باع أصحابها وعمق درايتهم بالموضوع، وإما لأنهم أول من كتب في القرن العشرين عن حقل من حقول المعرفة الأندلسية، وإما لأنه تيسر لنا الوصول إلى إنتاجهم الثقافي، ولم يتيسر لنا الوصول إلى إنتاج غيرهم.

أولاً: الأندلس في الذاكرة العربية

تُعَبَّرُ الأندلس في الذاكرة الجماعية العربية عن مشاعر متضاربة، وتُوَلَّدُ مواقف متضاربة كذلك؛ فهي تعني الانتماء إلى حضارة عريقة، لكن في الوقت نفسه، تعني نوعاً من نهاية التاريخ عند العرب، بحيث تجعلهم يشعرون أن حضارتهم لا يمكن أن تتجاوز ما وصلت إليه في الأندلس، وهذا يحول الحضارة العربية في الوقت الراهن إلى حضارة شبه ميتة. إنها قضية منتهية في الزمن حاضرة في الوجدان، وذلك ما نلمسه عندما نتجول في أي مدينة عربية؛ بحيث يصادفنا اسم الأندلس وقد أُطلق على مسميات لا يربط بينها رابط، فهو اسم لمسجد، ولكباريه، ولفرقة موسيقية، ولدان بيع الكتب، ولمطعم، ولدكان ميكانيكي، ولنوع من أنواع المواد الغذائية المعلبة المعروضة في أي «سوبر ماركت».

لقد ساهم إلى حد بعيد في بلورة هذا الإحساس الذي يسبب اضطراباً في شعورنا، الكيفية التي نقدم بها الأندلس في الكتاب المدرسي العربي بمختلف مستوياته، والطريقة الرومانسية التي ندرّس بها تاريخها في تعليمنا الابتدائي والثانوي بل الجامعي أيضاً. وقد واكب ذلك عن قرب على امتداد ربع القرن الأخير، حيث أقوم بتدريس تاريخ وحضارة الأندلس بجامعة محمد الخامس، قسم الدراسات الإسبانية، من دون انقطاع منذ سنة ١٩٩٠. وجزت العادة، في الحصة الأولى، أن يُسَلِّمَ طلبة المادة ورقة للأستاذ، يسجلون فيها، باختصار، ما يعرفونه عن الأندلس. الغاية من ذلك هي تقييم مستواهم، بما يساعد الأستاذ على تحديد الموضوعات المزعم تدريسها. عندما أعود إلى أوراق بعض السنوات التي احتفظت بها، وأقارنها بعضها ببعضها الآخر، يتبين لي بعمامة، تكرار المعلومات التي تتضمنها، وتشابه الرصيد المعرفي للطلبة، الذي لم يتغير رغم مرور خمس وعشرين سنة. إنها الاقتناعات الحاملة البعيدة عن الواقع التاريخي نفسها، التي تكرر أطروحة الفردوس المفقود المتجذرة في الذاكرة الجماعية العربية.

■ صفحات من الثقافة العربية المعاصرة (ملف) (*)

D 1417



الأندلس في الثقافة العربية المعاصرة

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مقدمة

بقي الموروث الأندلسي نسياً منسياً في الذاكرة والثقافة العربية منذ نهاية القرن الخامس عشر إلى نهاية القرن التاسع عشر، بحيث لم يكن يتجاوز ذكره إشارات مبعثرة في كتب الأدب والفقه والتاريخ والرحلات السفرية^(١). وكان الاستثناء الوحيد الذي يمكن اعتباره كتاباً متخصصاً في الثقافة الأندلسية طوال هذه المرحلة الطويلة، هو نفتح الطيب الذي ألفه المقرئ في الثلث الأول من القرن السابع عشر^(٢). ولملء هذا الفراغ، كان لزاماً انتظار القرن العشرين، الذي تجدد معه

(*) أعدت أوراق هذا الملف في الأصل، من ضمن أوراق كثيرة أخرى، لتنتشر ضمن الطبعة الجديدة والموسعة لموسوعة الثقافة العربية في القرن العشرين: حصة أولية (قيد الإعداد) التي صدرت الطبعة الأولى منها عن مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية عام ٢٠١١.

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(١) من بين الرحلات السفرية التي تقدم أوصافاً عن الأندلس وحضارتها، من خلال مشاهدات وانطباعات أصحابها، نذكر رحلة الغساني الأندلسي، في نهاية القرن السابع عشر، ورحلة المهدي الغزال في ستينيات القرن الثامن عشر، ورحلة ابن عثمان المكناسي، عشر سنوات بعد ذلك، وكلها أعمال مطبوعة. انظر: أبو عبد الله محمد بن عبد الوهاب الغساني الأندلسي، رحلة الوزير في افتكاك الأسير، ١٦٩٠ - ١٦٩١، تحقيق عبد الرحيم بنحادة (طوكيو: معهد الأبحاث في لغات وثقافات آسيا وأفريقيا، ٢٠٠٥)؛ أبو العباس أحمد بن المهدي الغزال، نتيجة الاجتهاد في المهادة والجهاد: «رحلة الغزال وسفارته إلى الأندلس»، تحقيق وتقديم إسماعيل العربي (الجزائر: ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، ١٩٨٤)، ومحمد بن عثمان المكناسي، الإكسبير في فكاك الأسير، تحقيق وتعليق محمد الفاسي، سلسلة الرحلات: ١ (الرباط: المعهد الجامعي للبحث العلمي، ١٩٦٥).

(٢) أبو العباس أحمد بن محمد المقرئ التلمساني، نفتح الطيب من غصن الأندلس الرطيب، تحقيق إحسان عباس، ٨ مج (بيروت: دار صادر، ١٩٦٨).